

MARCH 1942

# HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[FIVE PICE]

## Notes

### The National Week

The National Week comes every year with the certainty of seasons. It has come for over twenty years now, and yet we seem to be as far as ever from our freedom or communal unity or universalisation of khadi. We started the celebration with these three definite things. They were convertible terms. If we had unity, we could get freedom, and so also if all were converted to the khadi cult. Though we have added many things since to our constructive programme, the original is as true today as it was when it was first conceived and started.

How shall we behave during the forthcoming Week? Let us not treat freedom apart from its components. Then there remain communal unity and the thirteen other items, at the centre of which stands khadi in its widest sense.

Communal unity at the top will come in its time. We want freedom for the masses, and so do we want communal unity for and among the masses. If we have it in our hearts, let us show it in our daily little acts towards one another.

I will not mention the other items. All organisations will look after them. A word is necessary about khadi. Hitherto we have had khadi sales. This time, thanks to many causes, we have no khadi to sell. But we can all produce, we can all collect funds. If we have enough capital, we can produce more khadi. But we can also do *tunai* or carding and even weaving not for self but for the nation. We would therefore give our output to the A. I. S. A. at its depots in our localities.

And let me not forget the 24 hours' fast on the 6th and the 13th April. Thousands believed in it when we began. We did not err in fasting. Let those who have faith in it not forget fasting and prayer.

### The Curse

A Harijan sevak writes:

1. There are in our country hotels, hair cutting saloons, etc., which deny admission to Harijans. Is it not expected of our national workers — khadi, Hindi and Congress propagandists — to boycott such institutions and use their influence to get these disabilities of the Harijans removed?

2. There are washermen employed by the A. I. S. A. Some of these washermen observe untouchability in their profession and are not prepared to wash the clothes belonging to persons other than Brahmins and Nairs. The A. I. S. A. dispenses with the washermen who are addicted to drink. Similarly, should not the

A. I. S. A. dispense with those washermen who observe untouchability in their profession?"

The questions are appropriate. Both have to be answered only in one way. All institutions which deny access to Harijans should be boycotted by those, whether Congressmen or others, who feel keenly that the curse of untouchability has to be removed if Hinduism is to remain as a faith to live for and, if need be, to die for. In the posers put by the sevak the difficulty is sometimes serious. But nothing can be achieved unless serious difficulties are seriously faced and surmounted.

The question gives rise to a dilemma on some occasions. The washermen are supported by the A. I. S. A. in common with the other artisans. These cling to untouchability with a tenacity that defies all attempt to make them see the superstition that the curse is. Whilst I cannot offhand ask A. I. S. A. workers to boycott the artisans that observe untouchability, there is no doubt that there should be greater vigilance than heretofore in these matters.. Preference should certainly always be given to those who have shed the superstition. Much will depend upon the spirit in which the persons afflicted with the virus of untouchability are approached.

Sevagram, 23-3-42

### A Correction

In 'Harijan' of February 22nd 1942, there was an announcement that Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh had been nominated a member of the Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A. This was a mistake, as he being a member of the Congress Working Committee cannot become a member of the A. I. V. I. A. Board.

Sevagram, 18-3-42

M. K. G.

### Bhilis and Harijans in Rajputana

Thakkar Bapa's work entails a good deal of touring. He snatches odd moments during his travels to write to Gandhiji. The following is extracted from the account of the recent tour Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru and he had in Rajputana.

Speaking of Udaipur he opines that education is terribly backward. There is only one primary school to cater for 20-25 villages and only two high schools in the whole State. Thikanedars — landholders who make states within a state—who comprise nearly half the State spend all the revenue on themselves and do nothing for the ryot. The State has, however, decided to open 40 new schools every year where Harijans and Bhilis too may have some opportunities of educa-

tion. On His Highness' birthday the interest from 2 lakhs was set apart for the service of Harijans and Bhils as well as an annual grant of Rs. 10,000.

Branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangh have been opened in Mewar, Chittor, Bhilwada, Chhoti Sadri and Nathdwara, as well as two schools for Bhils and Minas in Rishabhdev and Kesariaji. It is an uphill task for Harijan workers, for there is great prejudice against Harijans in Rajputana. For example the images of Harijan gods may not have four hands. Only two are permissible for them! They may not take out processions on festival days in the main streets of the town. Music, other than drums, is not allowed to them during their weddings. A Harijan bridegroom may not wear a 'sehra'. One poor boy had the temerity to do so with the result that his associates received a sound thrashing from the inhabitants of Karjoo village, the party was robbed of all the money — Rs. 75 — they had and 3 tolas of gold were literally pulled off their ears. Could tyranny go further? And even the Mahajan community, supposedly more advanced, harbours these prejudices.

At Nathdwara, one of the most famous Vaishnava temples in Mewar, Rs. 800 is spent daily in Prasad. How many Harijans and Bhils could be maintained with this money!

Women's education is next to nil in Rajputana and purdah is rife. In Jaipur Harijans are conspicuous by their absence in State schools and college. Harijan children need scholarships to encourage them to enter educational institutions. They should be given preference in State services. The age-long and cruel custom of forced labour should be put an end to. Sweepers and scavengers are terribly underpaid. Men get Rs. 7-8-0 and women Rs. 1-12-0 per mensem. No leave or provident fund facilities are given.

#### Barter in Bezwada

Shri Sitaram Sastry of Vinayashram writes that Shri Venkatakrishnayya of Gunadala (near Bezwada) has, since 1929, been carrying on with success a system of barter in his Khaddar Samsthanam.

To begin with he issued 138 and 50 chits worth Re. 1 and Rs. 3/8 each respectively. The chits were countersigned by the firm in which the funds of the Khaddar Samsthanam to the extent of Rs. 20,000 were then deposited. They circulated for four years among the residents of the institution and ultimately came into the hands of the firm. They served the purpose of coin, and holders were able on presentation of them to get the necessary articles or money. Later in 1933, because some people invariably wanted money in exchange, it was decided to give one bag of paddy per chit — a bag at that time being worth Rs. 3/8 — and make paddy the medium of exchange. Other articles equivalent in value to the bag of paddy according to the scale of barter were given and cash was rarely used. For example a bag of paddy fetched 4 pairs of countrymade shoes. It was equal to 12½ lb. of carded cotton or 25 lb. of chillies or 6 lb.

of ghee, 50 lb. of tamarind, 8 yards of khadi 45" wide, or 25 lb. of oil, etc.

Recently Shri Venkatakrishnayya has developed the idea of a food ticket. He gives slivers and, if a person spins 1,000 yards of well-twisted, uniform yarn of about 12 counts, he gets 90 tolas of cooked rice and 30 tolas of soup and vegetable. The cost of this meal, which suffices for an adult, is one anna. The spinning wage thus works out at an anna for 1,000 yards, which would mean about 3½ annas per day of 8 hours, if the spinner were efficient enough to turn out 400 yards per hour.

Shri Sitaram Sastry is anxious to bring into practice Gandhiji's dictum that 'yarn is our basic coin' in his Ashram. At the present market rates one bag of paddy would be equivalent to 96 food tickets, i. e. the spinning wage payable for 96,000 yards of yarn or 5½ lb. of yarn of 12 counts. It would be good to try the experiment on a small scale and appraise results. But accurate observation is necessary, if success is to be ensured.

Sevagram, 21-3-42

A. K.

#### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### About Children

Q. I quite agree that as society advances marriages between the different communities will increase and should be welcomed. You rightly advocate no change of religion for the parties concerned. But what do you advocate for the children? In which religion should they be brought up, the father's or the mother's?

A. Presumption in such marriages is that the parents respect each other's religion. If they are religiously minded, the children will unconsciously imbibe what they think is best for them and choose their own faith without let or hindrance from the parents. If the latter are indifferent, the children will also be probably indifferent and label themselves anyhow. This is what I have observed in such marriages. The difficulty crops up when there is a serious difference arising between the parents as to the upbringing of the children.

#### Conversion without Conviction

Q. You oppose all conversion without conviction. But are you not inconsistent? You profess equal respect for all religions. Why then worry about how the conversion is brought about?

A. I have extracted the question from your long and plausible letter, cleverly written. Conversion without conviction is a mere change and not conversion which is a revolution in one's life. You seem too to forget that equal respect implies respect for my own faith as much as for yours or any other neighbour's. My respect for my own faith forbids my being indifferent to my children abandoning their parents' faith without conviction. And I should have little respect for you, if you led my children astray by making all kinds of worldly promises in which matters of the spirit had no play.

Sevagram, 23-3-42

## HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Tara Chand, who has made a close study of the vexed question of the national language, recently wrote a Hindi letter to Shri Kakasaheb, from which the following important extracts are translated below:

" Hindustani and Brij were both colloquial languages at one time. What their status then was it is difficult to say. History only records that in the 12th century Saad Salman wrote a Divan in Hindi, but not a single poem of it has survived. Hindi or Hindustani made its first appearance in the 13th century, and its literature actually came into being in the 14th and 15th centuries in South India. Its language is the same as Khadi Boli (खड़ी बोली) and is the basis of modern Hindi. No writings in Brij are known to have appeared before the 16th century. In *Prithviraj Raso* there are some verses in this language, but when this work was written, especially the Brij portion of it, is not certain. Most persons attribute it to the 16th century.

" Rajasthani or Dingal was in vogue before Brij. The Raso is nearly all written in Dingal. Surdas was the first poet to write in Brij in the 16th century.

" The Muslims were the first to create literature in Hindustani. Their faqirs and saints used this language for their religious teachings and explained the principles of the Sufi religion in it also. Later, poets adopted it, and because Muslims used the language there came about a mixture of Persian and Hindi words. The sounds of Persian and Arabic letters also crept in which are not found in Brij but which have remained in Hindi up to date.

" The colloquial language which the Muslims employed is the language spoken even today round about Meerut and Delhi. It is termed Khadi Boli or Hindustani.

" Modern Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu are three forms of this language. Hindi and Urdu are its literary forms into which many Sanskrit and Persian and Arabic words have freely crept. Hindustani is that form of the language which includes both Sanskrit and Persian words. Writers of Hindustani lean towards one or the other according to their taste. But they try to avoid both as much as possible.

" In my opinion neither Hindi nor Urdu should be the lingua franca of India. Either we must agree to call Hindi the language of the Hindus and Urdu that of the Muslims, or we must try to make Hindustani the common language. So long as we call either Hindi or Urdu the national language we are certain to raise a controversy.

" I think you are on the right track. But truth is often not seen clearly because of prejudices. I should like you to save the country from going on the wrong path. The question of language involves the larger question of Swaraj."

Sevagram, 9-3-42

(From *Harijansevak*)

## AN ENGLISHMAN'S TRIBUTE

[In the course of a letter to me Verrier Elwin thus writes about Jamnalalji. M. D.]

" During the last few years I had seen very little of Jamnalalji though at one time we were very close together indeed, and I have never failed to think of him with love and gratitude. Only last week as we were walking over the sharp and rugged mountains of the Abujhar, one of the wildest places in India, I was telling a friend how ten years ago when I went to see Jamnalalji in jail at Dhulia I had been so shocked at finding him placed in the 'C' class that I had sworn to go barefoot (except in towns and cities where it would look conspicuous) as long as such things were possible in our country. I am still today having to go barefoot, and this single circumstance often served to remind me of my friend.

I remember, too, how when I had an operation in Bombay Jamnalalji, with all the burden of business and weight of administrative Congress duties upon his shoulders, came over to the hospital and sat beside me during the whole of the ordeal. They at first only gave me a local anaesthetic, and he was thus able to talk to me and distract my mind. I remember him again coming up to Karanja to see our work for the Gonds (and it was from the mouth of Jamnalalji in a motor car driving through the streets of Ahmedabad that I first heard the word 'Gond' which has come to mean so much to me later on) with Miss Muriel Lester and the lady who is now Mrs. Kripalani. I shall never forget the enthusiastic interest with which he examined everything, the generous and ready help that he gave when it was needed, and the remarkable sympathy and interest that he showed immediately into all our little problems.

In the old days, to visit Jamnalalji's simple little house in Wardha was a wonderful experience. Jamnalalji's own life never lost its simplicity, but when Wardha became a metropolis, naturally many other buildings and institutions sprang up and the others became crowded; but in 1931 and 1932 the note of simplicity and peace was as evident as in a sadhu's home. I think that only a very few Englishmen visited Wardha in those days, and Jamnalalji was never so well-known in England and America as some other Congress leaders, largely because of his unwillingness to talk much in English. I think that was a pity, for there was much in Jamnalalji to appeal strongly to the Western man. His simplicity and honour, his straightforwardness and plainness of speech (I remember him frequently rebuking me for saying 'thank you' so often, which, he said, I could not possibly mean), and his Quakerlike attitude to existence would have made a strong appeal. His devotion to truth was unique in a very rich man. You felt that every word he uttered was fit to be audited by a Chartered Accountant; you felt that all his emotions would balance properly and that his ideals would never show a deficit. I loved him very dearly, and now that he is gone, even though I had hardly seen him in the last few

years, I feel a great gap. I realise, too, what a loss his genial, affectionate, generous and liberal presence must be to you all at Wardha and to the country. Please give my love and my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Bajaj and the other members of the family; and if you like to do anything else with this letter, you know you may do so."

## HARIJAN

Mar. 29

1942

### INHUMAN IF TRUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Honorary Secretary of the Social Service Department of the Marwari Relief Society writes:

"I have to place before you a very brief review of the activities of the Marwari Relief Society, Calcutta, in connection with rendering relief to evacuees from Burma and Malaya, absolutely irrespective of caste, creed and colour, and also to humbly seek your invaluable advice on a very grave matter. The Society has undertaken to provide food, medical aid, and facilities for repatriation to thousands of helpless refugees who are arriving in Calcutta daily by rail, road and sea. Several emergent cases of delivery have also been attended to. The Society is also trying to secure suitable jobs for unemployed evacuees with the kind co-operation of respectable local firms.

In this connection I beg to report a certain very regrettable incident to you, and shall be grateful if you kindly advise me as to my duties in the matter.

On the night of the 14th March, shortly after the arrival of the Chittagong Mail, as I, in company with a number of volunteers, was attending to the wants of the evacuees, a British tommy got hold of a small child belonging to one of the poor evacuees and threw it under the train. Although I am a humble follower of your noble creed of non-violence, it was with the greatest difficulty that I restrained myself and my volunteers from punishing the soldier bodily for his brutal act. I reported the matter to the station military authorities, but their attitude was anything but sympathetic. I later approached Mr. K. C. Sen I. C. S. over the matter, and though he promised to duly enquire into the matter, nothing has been done as yet to rectify it. There are still large numbers of soldiers loitering about the platforms every night, and a violent clash between these soldiers and relief volunteers and the public is a possibility which has to be tackled in no time. I have already placed the matter before the Bengal Congress Civil Protection Committee.

I should be thankful, if you kindly advised me on the following points:

1. Should I start an agitation in the press over the matter?

2. Supposing a soldier behaves indecently towards a helpless female evacuee, are we to put up with it silently, or should the soldier be forcibly dealt with?

It would help us very greatly, if you kindly issued a statement in *Harijan* in this connection. I am prepared

to accept all responsibility regarding the truthfulness of the above incident."

I have suppressed many letters giving me authentic details about the misbehaviour of soldiers. I have published them when it would have been wrong, if not cowardly, to suppress them. The letter in question demands, in my opinion, the widest publicity, not merely for the safety of the public but also for the sake of the soldiers and the Government. The Marwari Relief Society is a big philanthropic institution of twenty-five years' standing having an all-India reputation. It has funds and seasoned workers. Its prestige should have been enough security for the good behaviour of the soldiers in the presence of its workers. The soldier must have run amuck or been under the influence of drink to have behaved as he is reported to have done. I trust that the Marwari Relief Society will not leave the matter till it is thoroughly thrashed out; and I trust too that the authorities will not wish to hush up the matter but will make ample amends, if the case is proved as reported by my correspondent.

So much for the case itself. The correspondent desires my guidance about similar cases in future. The action of himsa or ahimsa would have been identical. The volunteers should have, if they could, bodily prevented the soldier from touching the child or snatched the child from him, even if the soldier had been hurt in the act of preventing or snatching. The proceedings after the delivery of the child or the failure of the attempt would vary according as the deliverers were actuated violently or non-violently. Non-violent behaviour would dictate generous and gentle behaviour towards the culprit. But generosity and gentleness would have to be thoughtful and reasoned. It is difficult to lay down in advance the rule of conduct applicable in all cases. I can say this much that a truly generous act demands sincere recognition on the part of the culprit. I have known instances of Africans in South Africa insulted at railway stations saying to the rude white men, "My brother, God will forgive you for your rudeness," and the white men giggling, if not adding injury to insult. In similar circumstances I have myself remained silent and suffered the insult. I am quite clear that the Africans' so-called generosity was a mere mechanical act justly evoking derision. Mine was timidity. I did not wish to evoke further insult. I certainly did not want to take legal proceedings. I was trying then to shape my non-violent conduct. If I had had the real courage, I would have expostulated with the insulters and risked the worst.

I have interpolated an examination of so-called non-violent conduct in cases of personal insult or injury. What about the child injured or the injury imagined by my correspondent? I think non-violent conduct would not, should not, be different. The distinction that is often drawn between personal injury and injury done to wards is unjustified, if not wrong. A man is not expected to do more for his wards than he would for himself. He would no doubt sacrifice himself for his ward's honour,

but he would be expected to do likewise for his own. If he did otherwise, he would be voted a coward and is not likely to protect his ward's honour, if he is not able to protect his own. But I own that correct non-violent conduct does not come through mere reasoning. Reason is a necessary preliminary. But correctness of conduct will come only through repeated practice, maybe even repeated failures.

What violent conduct should be surely needs no examination.

Sevagram, 23-3-42

### THE ANDHRAS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following has been sent to me by Maharaj Kumar Vijaya Anand of Vizianagram :

"There is a strong feeling amongst us Andhras that you do not like us, that you are against the formation and the establishment of a separate province. Despite Andhra Desh being overwhelmingly Congress, it never received your blessings. If three crores of yearning hearts are asking for a separate existence, would you not allow them the 'right to sin' as the great Tilak Maharaj once said? People of my Desh are so definite about your dislike for the Andhras that they even attribute your visit to Benares recently for the purpose of commanding me to drop the Andhra agitation. The Andhras would like to know whether you ever gave any advice to Tamil Nad regarding Andhras, and also wish to know whether during the last ministry the Andhra question was referred to you or not; if so, what advice did you give them? Do you put the Andhra question on the same footing as that of Karnatak and Kerala whose revenues may not be enough to have separate provinces? Pray, what is your opinion regarding Andhra Desh being self-supporting? Is it not a fact that, owing to steadfast loyalty of the Andhras to the Congress movement, they did not achieve what Orissa did? It is felt that, had the Andhras taken a different line of action when the Simon Commission came to India, they would have got their hearts' desire."

I can only say that the Maharaj Kumar is in bad hands. Being a novice in the art of handling masses, he has evidently not taken care to inquire into the credentials of his informants. I should like to know the Andhras who have given him the information which he has chosen to transmit to me. I am not a stranger to Andhra Desh myself. I refer the Maharaj Kumar to Deshbhakta Konda Venkatappayya, Shri Prakasam, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shri Kaleshwar Rao and Shri Sitaram Sastry. They will probably bear witness to the fact that I was principally instrumental in securing from the Congress the recognition of the redistribution of the Provinces for Congress purposes on a linguistic basis. I have always agitated for the acceptance by the Government of such redistribution. I have indeed advised Tamil Nad, when such advice was needed, not to resist the Andhra demand. I know that the Congress ministry headed by Shri C. Rajagopalachari tried its best to get Andhra recognised as a separate

province, and it was no fault of the ministry that Andhra Desh has not yet been so recognised. But it is true that I recognise no distinction between Karnatak, Kerala and Andhra or for that matter any other province recognised by the Congress as a separate province. I do not know enough about any province to be able to say which can be self-supporting on being recognised as separate. As to my visit to Benares, the purpose is too well known to need any clarification. The Maharaj Kumar is a sportsman, and he should be above worrying about baseless suggestions made about him. He would be an unworthy leader who can be deflected from his mission even by a Mahatma. I hope this answer will satisfy the Maharaj Kumar, if not even those who duped him into putting the questions he has.

Sevagram, 20-3-42

### THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE

(By K. G. Mashruwala)

Is a member of a *Shanti Dal* (Peace Brigade), by reason of the creed of non-violence, precluded from exercising his legal right to use violence in self-defence?

This question is raised, firstly when one does not perceive the difference between individual and collective violence, and secondly when one is not clear about the exact position which he, as an individual, chooses to take up in the task of advancing and perfecting the technique of non-violent resistance.

On the first point, the imperfections of human character will always give rise to acts of individual violence either deliberately or on sudden provocation. In such cases, until a fairly certain non-violent method of self-defence is discovered and made known to everyone, a spirited man will always resist the aggressor with counter-violence. This will take place even amongst such fully pledged disciples of non-violence as monks, sadhus, and the like. So again, not only children will fight with one another, but even parents and children, husband and wife, and blood brothers will sometimes abuse, beat and even go to the extent of committing murder. Even in a predominantly non-violent society we shall have such happenings amongst peaceful citizens, even as we hear of motor car accidents. As usual, the cause of quarrel will be generally property, sex, or petty selfishness in the enjoyment of common comforts. On such occasions there will be at times a combination of several individuals also. This combination may be premeditated or accidental. If it is the former, it is organised, and is not covered by the "legal" right of self-defence. Even where arms and military training are given to every person, citizens are not allowed to organise themselves in a body, except under the control of the State.

Thus there is a difference between individual violence, collective unpremeditated (and so, unorganised) violence (such as by a mob), and collective organised violence, as by a trained body of goondas, dacoits, volunteers, policemen or soldiers.

In the suggested organisation of *Shanti Dals* (Peace Brigades) the problem of violence and right

of self-defence by individuals cannot arise. They are concerned with the problem of organising collective protection of citizens against the violence of unsocial elements. And the principle laid down is that the *Shanti Dals* must not meet this violence by organised counter violence.

The personal right of self-defence is here not touched. But it does not follow that an individual may not choose to forego that right. The *Shanti Dal* is an entirely new type of organisation. Its purpose is to perfect a new method of counteracting violence by adopting its opposite. There will be two types of men amongst its members. They may be either members of a militia or a non-violent corps. Members of the latter, though not bound in rule, will not use violence even in self-defence, as that will interfere with the development of the new technique. If an engineer is studying the problem of friction in his factory, he will not be heedless of that factor in his private laboratory. So, too, an individual member of a peace brigade. He will rather court risk of defeat through non-violence than achieve an apparent success through violence. It is for each individual member to choose which place he would like to fill in the peace organisation.

The same considerations incidentally dispose of the question whether a votary of non-violence may not also help the organisation of a corps, not pledged to non-violence, if the latter seeks his guidance. It is clear that he can do so only at the risk of defeating his own objective.

Sevagram, 22-3-42

#### COW'S MILK FOR LEPERS

[ Dr. Santra is an authority on leprosy. What he says should carry weight. Apart from my views on the cow, the medical profession owes a duty to the country to discover the relative values of different milks.

Sevagram, 23-3-42

M. K. G.]

"Recently I was in Bajajwadi in connection with work at the Maharogi Seva Mandal. During my spare hours I visited places of activities at Maganwadi, Nalwadi and Mahila Ashram, etc.

I bought some pamphlets and reports, and it was very pleasing to read what you said on the 30th September, 1941. You said, 'Fundamentally by protecting the cow we realise our duty towards all living beings, but having reduced cow service to a farce we have forgotten our real duty.'

Some fifteen years back when most of my evenings were spent in villages giving magic lantern lectures on leprosy, I laid particular stress on the protection of the cow while explaining the effect of milk on leprosy. I told people that, if we have more leprosy, it is because of the fact that we have ill-treated the cow which was supposed to be a goddess but was the most neglected, and therefore God punished us with leprosy.

It might appear to be a sentiment or a religious mania. I cannot offer scientific argument in favour of the theory that protection of the cow will protect us from leprosy, but there are indications that the use of milk reduces the virulence of leprosy.

In the last century a Sikh Baba got the reputation of curing leprosy at Sitalani in the Amritsar district. This reputation reached the ears of the Government, and the popular belief regarding the cure was so strong that the Government instituted an enquiry. The Civil Surgeon of Amritsar visited Sitalani and reported that the reported improvement was true, and that it was due not to any secret remedy but to the inclusion of a liberal amount of milk in the diet of the lepers who came to stay there.

Dr. Muir, the father of anti-leprosy campaign in India, advised that lepers should take two seers of milk a day. The propaganda leaflets that he prepared had the picture of a cow, and he advocated the use of cows' milk.

In recent days Dr. Cochrane of South India found that children having a malignant type of leprosy became benign more quickly when they got skimmed milk in addition to treatment. He would have done a great service, if he had obtained the milk locally rather than getting the powder from foreign countries. That would have given an opportunity to the lepers to do goseva and provide manure for the kitchen gardens. Some time back it was claimed that vitamin A produced changes in leprosy toward good. We know that cows' milk, specially of those who feed on green grass, is very rich in vitamin A. Thus we have some scientific indication that the use of cows' milk will decrease the virulence of leprosy. When it becomes benign, the disease being unable to propagate itself, the number of lepers will naturally decrease.

To my mind today a leper in India is neglected as much as, or more than, our cows. They are not dumb like the cows, but they have not organised any association through which they could speak their mind. The care of the leper like the care of the cow was a part of Indian culture. Even today daily meals for lepers at the local leper asylums at Deoghar and Puri are supplied by the temple authorities. In South India there are temples where there is a special place for a leper to live. Their food is supplied by the temple authorities. Customs like this might have originated from the time when Manu laid down laws for the conduct of lepers. He advised them to leave their homes and spend the remaining part of their life at holy places. I met Shastriji (who is a case) of Sevagram and requested him to study the status of lepers in our old shastras.

Today our culture might have been rendered weak but it has not vanished. The protection of the cow and eradication of leprosy will progress in proportion to the effort we make to revive our old culture. They should have their place in the national planning of our country."

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## LOVE OF ONE'S OWN LANGUAGE

I

In his pamphlet on the Constructive Programme, referring to our indifference to and disregard for our indigenous languages, Gandhiji has cited, by way of contrast, the examples of Japan and the Chinese Generalissimo, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. A few facts about both of these are given below in the hope that they will interest the reader.

The Japanese language is very difficult to learn. "A child should learn about 3,000 different characters by the time he is ten or twelve; he must know about 5,000 to read a newspaper intelligently. These characters are Chinese, but the language is different." The efforts of the Japanese to simplify interpretation of the Chinese characters have only made Japanese "by all odds the most formidable tongue in the world", says John Gunther. But the Japanese have neither given up their language nor do they think of Romanising their script. All their education is given through their own tongue, and yet "Japan has a record in education that no Oriental country can remotely match." Japanese literacy is 95% as compared with less than 15% in India and 10% in China.

The Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, is a man of wide culture and the first Japanese Emperor to travel abroad. He prefers, though he knows a little English and French, to use his own tongue, Japanese, while speaking to foreigners. "One discovers soon," says Gunther, "that Tokyo, for all its modernity, is the hardest of the great eastern capitals to get around in. This is largely because a recent Home Minister . . . abolished foreign language street signs. . . Later when tourists became hopelessly confused, some English signs were permitted to reappear at railway stations." The authorities frown even on such semi-English expressions among Japanese as "Papa-san" which children use for father.

The Chinese language is perhaps no less difficult than the Japanese. Yet the Chinese have not given it up. They are now trying to evolve a simple variant of it in order to make it easier for the masses to learn. Though pronunciations differ widely from province to province, the written language is the same throughout China, and "the uniform written language has played a colossal role in keeping China together."

The love of one's language is shared in an eminent degree by the Generalissimo, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. When the Generalissimo and the Madame meet a foreign visitor, she interprets for him since his only foreign language is Japanese. Here is one of the makers of modern China, one whom Gunther describes as "probably the strongest Chinese individual since the third century B. C. when the Great Wall was built", feeling no sense of shame because he cannot talk in any language other than his own. Gunther also reports that the Marshal was responsible for the removal of English road signs in China. The Marshal's insistence on the use of his own tongue is shared by some of

his most prominent associates like General Chan Cheng who is reputed to be the choice of Chiang Kai-shek as his successor.

II\*

Let us now turn to Western Asia. It has been a characteristic common to all nationalist movements of modern times that the resurgence of the national spirit has been accompanied by a linguistic revival. Arabic was the predominant language of Western Asia, being the language of the Koran, and was the common bond that united all sects of Islam. It was also the mother-tongue of the populations inhabiting Arabia, Syria, Egypt and some other territories. Syria was the first to "awaken to the idea of nationalism in its modern form . . . Like European nationalism, Arab Syrian national consciousness had its origin in a literary renaissance. The ancient, classical language and the poetical and philosophical works written in it were studied: new life and a spirit of romance were breathed into the old, traditional subjects: the speech which for decades had only been current among the people or used for theological disquisitions was raised once more to the dignity of a modern literary language by the creation of a new terminology: foreign classics were translated, and finally the new knowledge was sifted and collected in great encyclopaedias and dictionaries." The linguistic revival made rapid strides in subsequent years. The most remarkable fact emerging from this movement was the determination of the educated ones — both Arabs and Christians — to refashion and develop their own mother-tongue in order to make it an efficient vehicle of modern thought and science, and their insistence throughout on making it a medium of instruction instead of adopting a foreign tongue for the purpose.

In the first decade of the present century, when attempts were made by the Turkish rulers to force the Arabian provinces to adopt Turkish customs and to suppress Arabic even in the schools, Arabic national sentiment rose in revolt which spread even to Mesopotamia hitherto less advanced than Syria. Among the demands made by the Syrian Arabs from the Turkish rulers were these: "Arabic was to be recognised as the official language in the provincial administration and courts of law; Civil servants were to know Arabic; European experts employed to reorganise the administration were to sign a 15 year contract and were to know either Arabic or Turkish."

In Egypt, where the people's language was Arabic, the people had to struggle for years to get the English rulers to make adequate provision for the teaching of Arabic and adopt the people's language as the medium of instruction in schools. The national leaders, however, carried on the political education of the masses through papers

\* The facts and quotations in this and the subsequent sections have been taken, unless otherwise indicated, from Hans Kohn's *A History of Nationalism in the East*.

conducted in Arabic and acquired, in the meanwhile, a remarkable hold on them.

John Gunther, writing in 1938 about the regime of Reza Shah Pahlevi in Iran, says that "only Persian characters may be used in street signs and the like. Name-plates of foreigners in Teheran will be torn from the doors unless they are in Persian. Even kilometre posts along the roads are painted with Arabic numerals which are quite different from the English numerals." It is necessary to note that the national language which was thus fostered and encouraged not only did not prove a barrier to the progress that Iran made in recent years but the message of reform and enlightenment perhaps reached the masses more easily because of its being conveyed in their own language.

### III

The brotherhood of Islam included many nations. In several of these countries nationalist movements often began with an effort to break away from the common religious language. In Morocco, for example, "as early as the 12th century Ibn Tumart, who was champion of Berber nationalism, translated the Koran into Berber and had the call to prayer proclaimed in Berber instead of Arabic." Turkey of the eighteen-fifties seems to have taken the lead in the movement, inspired by the liberal sentiment that was aroused in the wake of the Crimean War. The Edict promulgated by the Sultan in 1856 breathed a new spirit of liberalism. Till 1860 literary Turkish had been a highly artificial language made up of Persian and Arabic words and turns of speech. The people could not understand it. With the growth of the nationalist sentiment there grew up also "a new unaffected and natural language akin to the vernacular". Shinasi Effendi was the father of the new language, which he was the first to use in translations and his newspapers. Turkey woke up from her torpor. A similar movement was afoot amongst the Russian Tatars of Crimea and the Volga who wanted to substitute "the Russian alphabet for the Arabic in the Turco-Tatar language and replace all Arabian and Persian words by words of pure Turkish derivation."

There are a few States belonging to people of non-Russian Asiatic origin within the U. S. S. R. Be it said to the credit of the latter that the peoples within its borders are allowed "to lead a national life of their own and to develop their own language and traditions. In every small autonomous republic or territory the vernacular was the official language and became thus a written, literary language." In the province of Turkistan, inhabited largely by Muslims, the indigenous language is used as the medium of instruction, and these local tongues are coming into general use and beginning to oust Russian as official languages. Even Afghanistan, without adopting English or any other Western language as the medium of instruction, achieved remarkable results. The progress made in education, the

London *Times* (1929) declares, can hardly be described as other than astonishing.

Hebrew is now the language of the Palestinian Jews not only in schools and colleges but in all cultural and social activity, having completely replaced Arabic.

### IV

Europe has not been free from this universal process, and the national upheavals there, which preceded those in Asia, had this one feature common to all. The struggle of the Irish nation, to cite but one instance out of several, for establishing its birthright of using its own national language in all spheres of life, is a glorious episode in the history of humanity's fight for freedom. Even the Englishmen's love for their own language and the devoted labours of generations of them to enrich it provide an object-lesson to us. And it was a German lexicographer, Jakob Grimm, who, in his introduction to the German dictionary, wrote thus: "German fellow countrymen, whatever your political allegiance, whatever your religious faith, enter the portals of your ancient hereditary language that stands open to you all, learn it and hold it sacred and cleave to it. Your national vigour and survival depend upon it."

In none of the countries mentioned has education suffered a setback because it did not adopt a foreign language as the medium of instruction, nor has any of them found it an impediment in their self-expression. What Gandhiji has been saying on the subject is, as is evident from the foregoing facts, wholly in consonance with experience and entirely in keeping with the spirit of the times. Indeed the national awakening in its many aspects penetrated the masses of our country only after, and in so far as, the Congress adopted the national language or the provincial languages in the conduct of its affairs and succeeded in popularising the use of the latter in the provinces.

Ahmedabad, 25-1-42

C. S.

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# HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. IX, NO. 8]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, MARCH 8, 1942

[ FIVE PICE

## Notice

The next issue, to be published on 15th March, will contain *twelve pages* and will be priced at *two annas* per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next. *Manager*

## Notes

### Indira Nehru's Engagement

I have received several angry and abusive letters and some professing to reason about Indira's engagement with Firoz Gandhi. Not a single correspondent has anything against Firoz Gandhi as a man. His only crime in their estimation is that he happens to be a Parsi. I have been, and I am still, as strong an opponent of either party changing religion for the sake of marriage. Religion is not a garment to be cast off at will. In the present case there is no question of change of religion. Firoz Gandhi has been for years an inmate of the Nehru family. He nursed Kamala Nehru in her sickness. He was like a son to her. During Indira's illness in Europe he was of great help to her. A natural intimacy grew up between them. The friendship has been perfectly honourable. It has ripened into mutual attraction. But neither party would think of marrying without the consent and blessing of Jawaharlal Nehru. This was given only after he was satisfied that the attraction had a solid basis. The public know my connection with the Nehrus. I had also talks with both the parties. It would have been cruelty to refuse consent to this engagement. As time advances such unions are bound to multiply with benefit to society. At present we have not even reached the stage of mutual toleration, but as toleration grows into mutual respect for religions such unions will be welcomed. No religion which is narrow and which cannot satisfy the test of reason will survive the coming reconstruction of society in which the values will have changed and character, not possession of wealth, title or birth will be the sole test of merit. The Hinduism of my conception is no narrow creed. It is a grand evolutionary process as ancient as time, and embraces the teachings of Zoroaster, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, Nanak and other prophets that I could name. It is thus defined:

विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्गुरुनित्यमद्वैषराग्मिषि ।

हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निवोधत ॥

[Know that to be (true) religion which the wise and the good and those who are ever free from passion and hate follow and which appeals to the heart.]

If it is not that, it will perish. My correspondents will pardon me for not acknowledging their letters. I invite them to shed their wrath and bless the forthcoming marriage. Their letters betray ignorance, intolerance and prejudice—a species of untouchability, dangerous because not easily to be so classified.

### Disgraceful

The Punjab press reports a deliberate and unprovoked attack on Pandit Sunderlal and Lala Jagannath of the Servants of People Society by four young Hindus at 11 o'clock at night while they were on their way to Lajpatrai Bhavan. The attack is said to have been made because of Pandit Sunderlal having delivered addresses in Lahore on Hindu-Muslim unity in which all offensive language was studiously avoided. One can understand, though never pardon, an attack on some provocation. But an attack such as was delivered on Pandit Sunderlal has no extenuating circumstances. These young men are reported to be members of the Hindu Mahasabha. I hope that the responsible officials will repudiate the action of the youths. Public opinion should make such hooliganism impossible. As for Pandit Sunderlal his cause will prosper for the savagery, and more so because of his dignified disregard and forgiveness of it.

Sevagram, 1-3-42

### Urdu Made Easy

Charity begins at home. As I was speaking to Jamnalalji's friends on the necessity of their learning Urdu if they believed in Rashtra Bhasha as recommended by the Congress, I thought of the good English proverb, and I began the charity of spreading the knowledge of Urdu in Sevagram. The result was a quick and good response. A class commenced last Wednesday, i. e. 25th February. Practically all, young and old, women and men, joined the class. The teacher captured their imagination. They learnt the primary letters in two sittings of thirty minutes each. By the time this is in print they should have learnt the forms for joining the letters. They will have learnt the alphabet in practically three hours. I know a friend who mastered it in four hours at a single sitting. The difficulty of reading Urdu is undoubtedly there. That can only be overcome by practice. Given the will, the way is easy. And love of the country should surely be sufficient spur to the will.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

M. K. G.

### A PEEP INTO BRITISH HISTORY

The fate of the British Empire along with India hangs in the balance. Those who still hold sway over us would fain have us help in order to save them from their sad plight. But even in their hour of trial they will not so much as get off our backs, if only to enable us to help them. On the contrary they even tighten the stranglehold and make our shortcomings an excuse for their unchivalrous conduct. On the other hand there are many among us who still feel that our salvation lies in British, rather than in our own, hands. It is indeed a pathetic state of affairs. It may be as well for all of us to try to learn from some salient facts from British history.

The Englishmen at the helm of affairs forget that the story of the British people for nearly a thousand years is a story of strife and foreign conquest, and it was only after a common national sympathy, which held the country roughly together, became an indissoluble bond that a real union was possible. At the time of the English Conquest there were the Angles in the East, the Saxons in the South, the Britons in the West, the Jutes already in parts of the South, and the Picts and the Scots in the North. Then came the Danes and the Normans. It is a multi-coloured medley of origins out of which a united England emerges. The medley has left its impress on the character and language of the people. Anglo-Saxon idiom remained the language of the people, while the aristocrats and the intellectuals spoke French. "There was a great fusion of tongue and minds. All the vocabulary of France remained, fixed within the framework of the old Germanic English and enriching it with an inexhaustible treasure of brilliant synonyms. Thus the peasant spoke of the beasts he tended in the farmyard as the sheep, the ox, the calf; the rich man called the roasts served at his table mutton, boeuf, and veau. And today England has mutton, beef and veal for the various meats as well as the old names for the living animals."

Those who came as conquerors but remained as 'natives' helped in welding themselves into a nation. The Roman State was getting weaker and weaker because "the dry rot from within more than any pressure from without was destroying the grand old fabric of Roman power in the West." (Esme Wingfield Strafford). "And yet the Roman organisation died hard, much harder, in fact, than anybody had imagined until Professor Bury discovered that at least as late as 428 the connection with Rome was being maintained, and the normal machinery of Government was still functioning in the province. It must have been very soon afterwards that the final separation occurred, and Britain was left to defend herself as best she might." (*Ibid*)

The Romans and their Legions left Britain for good, leaving their roads and the impress of their civilisation behind, as soon as they found themselves threatened at home by the barbarians from the North. It was those who remained in Britain, whether as natives, invaders, pirates or conquerors, that wrought the union of England. That is what

Mr. Amery had better remember again, if he has forgotten his history.

As for those of us who imagine that the British rulers can still protect us, there is another page of British history to which we may turn with profit. After the Romans left the Britons to shift for themselves the latter were threatened with invasions and raids from the North. There were two courses which were adopted, and both of them failed. The first was the time-honoured Roman expedient of setting barbarians to fight barbarians. "The one course left was to imitate the fatal policy by which the Empire had invited its own doom while striving to avert it, the policy of matching barbarian against barbarian." (Green) But the policy was "fatal". The other course, which Green has not noted but which other historians, including Gardiner, have noted, was the pathetic clutching at the foreigner who enjoyed no security himself. Says Tout:

"Early in the fifth century the Roman Empire on the Continent was overrun by fierce German tribes, anxious to find new homes for themselves. The settlement of Franks in Northern Gaul cut off Britain from the heart of the Empire, and Rome and Italy itself were threatened. With the Germans at the gates of Rome, it became impossible for the Emperors to find the men and money necessary for keeping up their authority in a distant land like Britain. After 410, the year which saw the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth, the Romans ceased to send officials and troops to Britain. Henceforth the Britons were left to look for themselves, and their entreaties to the Emperors to help them in their distress were necessarily disregarded." (*An Advanced History of Great Britain*)

Gardiner gives a more detailed analysis. "After the departure of the Romans, the Picts from the North and Scots from Ireland continued their ravages, but though they caused terrible misery by slaughtering or dragging into slavery the inhabitants of many parts of the country, they did not succeed in making any permanent conquests. The Britons were not without a Government and an armed force, and their later history shows that they were capable of carrying on war for a long time against enemies more formidable than the Picts and the Scots." (Gardiner: *Students' History of England*) This capacity arising out of their own inner strength was realised later. But for the moment, "in their misery the thoughts of the Britons turned to those Roman legions who had defended their fathers so well. In 446 they appealed to Aetius, the commander of the Roman armies, to deliver them from their destroyers. "The groans of the Britons" was the title which they gave to their appeal to them. "The barbarians," they wrote, "drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians; between them we are exposed to two sorts of death; we are either slain or drowned." (*Ibid*) What did Aetius say in reply? "Aetius," says Gardiner in one brief sentence, "had no men to spare, and he sent no help to Britons."

Comment is needless.  
Sevagram, 22-2-42

M. D.

### QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

#### Riches v. Poverty

Q. How is it possible to earn lakhs in a righteous way? Jamnalalji, the merchant prince, used to say it was not. Moreover, however careful a rich man is, he is bound to spend more on himself than his actual requirements merit. Therefore why not lay more stress on *not* becoming wealthy than on trusteeship of riches?

A. The question is apt and has been put to me before. What Jamnalalji could have meant was in the Gita sense that every action is tainted. It is my conviction that it is possible to acquire riches without consciously doing wrong. For example I may light on a gold mine in my one acre of land. But I accept the proposition that it is better not to desire wealth than to acquire it and become its trustee. I gave up my own long ago, which should be proof enough of what I would like others to do. But what am I to advise those who are already wealthy or who would not shed the desire for wealth? I can only say to them that they should use their wealth for service. It is true that generally the rich spend more on themselves than they need. But this can be avoided. Jamnalalji spent far less on himself than men of his own economic status and even than many middle class men. I have come across innumerable rich persons who are stingy on themselves. For some it is part of their nature to spend next to nothing on themselves, and they do not think that they acquire merit in so doing.

The same applies to the sons of the wealthy. Personally I do not believe in inherited riches. The well-to-do should educate and bring up their children so that they may learn how to be independent. The tragedy is that they do not do so. Their children do get some education, they even recite verses in praise of poverty, but they have no compunction about helping themselves to parental wealth. That being so, I exercise my common sense and advise what is practicable. Those of us, however, who consider it a duty to adopt poverty and believe in and desire economic equality may not be jealous of the rich but should exhibit real happiness in our poverty which others may emulate. The sad fact is that those who are thus happy are few and far between.

#### The Duty of a Manager

Q. Is it correct for the head of an institution, while demanding the utmost from his subordinates in the way of the simple life, to live in comparative luxury himself even though the money he spends on himself be his own earnings?

A. The manager who expects more from his co-workers than what he does is bound to fail. This of course applies only to philanthropic institutions whose managers have accepted the ideal of poverty.

#### Individual v. Collective Cow-keeping

Q. Please explain more fully why individual care of the cow is violent and collective effort non-violent.

A. The present pitiable condition of cattle is surely enough proof. The cow today is a burden simply because individual ownership and care have failed. In a previous article I have explained how the individual cannot take proper care of his cattle, how he cannot keep a bull or grazing ground for himself, and how difficult it is for him to make proper arrangements for the sale of milk and ghee. It would be quite impossible for individuals in any country to make their own arrangements for sending their letters with the ease that the postal department does for crores of people, rich and poor alike. The same applies to cows. If at all the problem can be solved, it will be through collective ownership or use. Ownership and service go ill together. I may belong to one person, but thousands can serve me. If one person alone were to claim the right to serve me, where would I be? This is exactly what is happening to the cow. Individuals own the cow, they do not serve it.

Sevagram, 23-2-42 (From Harijansevak)

#### Praja Mandals and the Congress

Q. Please clarify the position of the Congress vis-a-vis Praja Mandal Committees in States. Who should be responsible for political policies there?

A. Praja Mandals are independent bodies having no official connection with the Congress. They may or may not take their inspiration from the Congress policies. Such being the case I should advise them not to irritate State authority by an unnecessary identification with the Congress.

#### Women

Q. While you have advised women in cities to go into the villages in order to escape from the danger of assaults, do you not think that some of us, at any rate, should be brave enough to face the risk? After all women cannot become brave or self-reliant, if they are always to be kept out of harm's way. Will not one death bravely faced help the woman's cause? There is danger today of our girls being put back into purdah, as it were, by their parents.

A. Of course those who are wanted in the cities must remain at all cost and face the worst. Nothing should be done in bravado. When they go to the villages there will be no purdah. It will be all work and no freedom from danger anywhere on this God-forsaken little ball which two teams are kicking for all they are worth. The days of the purdah are gone for good.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

#### Christian Missions Their Place in India

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# HARIJAN

Mar. 8

1942

## AN APPEAL TO QAID-E-AZAM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have been painfully but regularly going through the English weeklies that come to me and that are devoted to the cause of the Muslim League. I read them so as to keep myself informed of what the Muslim mind as influenced by the Muslim League thinks. Not a week passes but these weeklies contain what to me appear to be distortions of truth and vilification of the Congress and Congressmen and Hindus. What has prompted me to write these lines is a virulent attack on Hinduism in one of the weeklies. Here is an extract from the article:

"Hinduism is the greatest curse of India, and it is based on intolerance and inequality. To call one's self a 'Hindu' is to confess that one is reactionary and narrow-minded. No decent, civilised, honest and sincere human being who knows what Hinduism is and what it stands for, would like to be known as a Hindu or join this faith of primitive barbarians. For it is on barbarity that this so-called religion is based. No other word can describe the state of 97 per cent of the population who have been decreed by the gods and goddesses of this precious religion as impure and unclean beings fit only to serve the remaining 3 per cent of the population. . . . We would far rather suggest to the students to prepare in their laboratories of the mind deadly bombs which would completely smash and destroy Hinduism, the greatest menace to India's welfare and well-being."

I hope I shall not be told that the article in question is taken from another newspaper. It has been taken in order to hold up Hinduism to scorn. Though the founder of this paper is Qaid-e-Azam himself and it is issued under the direction of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary of the League, I fancy that they have not seen the article in question.

What will be the state of Hindus under Pakistan? Will they be suppressed as barbarians? There is no attempt in the papers at looking at the other side. The policy adopted in the papers must lead to the promotion of bitterness and strife between the two communities. If the end is to be attained through strife and force and not by persuasion and argument, I can have nothing to say. But I observe from Qaid-e-Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them. I plead, therefore, for a juster estimate of men and things in papers representing the policy and programme of the Muslim League.

Sevagram, 2-3-42

## IN MEMORIAM

On the night of the day on which Jamnalalji was taken from this earth, Gandhiji said, as he lay down to rest, "I do not know what I shall do without him," and ever since the catastrophe his waking thoughts have been full of him. Quick to act, as he always is, he issued an invitation to a great many of Jamnalalji's friends to meet here on the 20th and discuss the best ways and means of honouring the deceased's memory. The response to the invitation was remarkable. Many came from all parts of the country, and those who could not come sent letters to say they would do whatever Gandhiji wanted them to.

The following is the gist of Gandhiji's talks on the 20th and 21st afternoons. It seemed as if he were pouring out the pent up agony of his soul.

### First Day

"This is no ordinary meeting. There is no president. An insupportable burden has fallen to my lot, and I am before you not as a president but as a beggar. My relations with Jamnalalji began with my entry into public life in my own country. Since then I have never had to worry. It was an easy thing for me to rely on him to carry out my wishes, for no one had identified himself quite so much with every one of my activities as he. And our work went on smoothly. Now he has gone, and as I could not possibly ask any one person to shoulder the immense burden he carried, I thought I would ask his friends to help me by dividing it. I do not propose to ask for contribution for a memorial to Jamnalalji. Nor do I want to give the chief place to money for the various activities with which he identified himself. If I did so, I would be denying myself. I know that money will come if the work is worthy and worthily done. I want us all to do what is far more difficult, that is to fill ourselves with the spirit with which he worked. That means detailed application to the many activities with which he had identified himself.

"When I arrived at the mansion in the hope that I would find Jamnalalji alive I found that the spirit had departed a few minutes before. No one can really be heartless on such occasions, but I may have seemed so, for instead of sorrowing with Janakidevi I pleaded with her to renounce her all and carry on Jamnalalji's work and be a living sati in the place of burning herself on the funeral pyre as she wanted to. It has been my wont throughout life to throw burdens on people and get the most from them. Janakidevi hesitated a bit and said she had not the ability. I said, if she had the desire, Vinoba would tell her that God would give her the ability and strength. She rose to the occasion. She has renounced not only all her material possessions—about 2½ lakhs—but has dedicated all her time to the work of the Goseva Sangh. Jamnalalji's entire family will, I trust, follow their parent's example and shoulder the burden with their mother to the best of their ability. Jamnalalji had kept aside 6 lakhs for public work. His sons could have kept this sum for themselves. But

Kamalnayan — Ramkrishna is still a lad — has made over the entire sum to me to do as I like with. This includes land opposite the Magan Museum, another piece of land, and Maganwadi itself. Besides this they have decided on behalf of Jamnalal & Son to continue the hospitality in the guest house including the private bungalow in Bajajwadi. This may mean an annual expense of Rs. 20,000. Janaki-behn will live in the hut in Gopuri which Jamnalalji had built for himself. All this augurs well for the future.

" You have seen a list of Jamnalalji's activities. I should like us to concentrate on his last activity first, viz. cattle preservation through the cow. But cow service is a very difficult task, more difficult than winning Swaraj. Swaraj we will have. But preservation of cattle, even aged, is still a problem to be solved. We work on the assumption that unfit and aged cattle need not be killed. The way Jamnalalji took it up and worked at it for two months is a remarkable proof of his single-minded devotion and powers of organisation. It is amazing what he was able to achieve in so short a time. But his body was too frail to stand the strain, and I had a premonition that we would lose him. His work cannot be replaced by money. It is sterling workers that are most wanted. The question is how to discharge the trust that has devolved on us. Such a death as his is accorded to one in a million. He was fortunate in every way. And we can only prove ourselves worthy of him and his purity, if we can identify ourselves with his activities, each according to the best of his ability. It is not an easy thing I ask, and you must not give simply because I ask it of you. You must only do what you can truthfully and without hesitation. I give gosева first place because Jamnalalji had taken it up in a special way. The work was started years ago. Jamnalalji was the president. But neither he nor I was happy about its progress. It is a great work. If we save the cow, we save human lives too. We could kill and eat the cow as other countries do, but we do not look upon that as human. We have chosen what we regard as the nobler way. But in saving her we must see that she and her progeny are a source of wealth, not the burden that they are today. In the all-India programme framed by Jamnalalji, reform of pinjrapolis was one of the main items, and if we succeed in this, it will be a great achievement. Then there is the creation of good bulls, all important for the salvation of the cow and her breed.

" About his other activities, you know that he took his full share in the constructive work in which I had specialised. He gave as much time as, if not more than, I to khadi. I may have given the *mantra*, but Jamnalalji devoted his intelligence, his powers of organisation and his money to give form to the scheme. He had the gift of seeking out and creating workers too. He felt with me that Swaraj was to be found in khadi, and he organised it while I was in jail, or else it might have died. The same with the Village Industries Association, the Talimi Sangh, the Harijan Sevak

Sangh, etc. All of you are not full khadi wearers even today. You have not yet carried the message to every member of your own family. Let us be as fearless and correct as he was.

" Today the country is in danger. Japan is knocking at our doors. What is the mercantile class going to do? Will they lose India for us once again? Will they bow the knee to the newcomer? Seeking freedom from one, shall we submit to another? Jamnalalji's spirit would answer that query for you in no uncertain terms. Many of us harbour hatred for the British, for our understanding of ahimsa is elementary. If we were brave, we would sympathise with them. We want to be friends with them and everyone else, but we may not bend the knee to anyone. If we could win our freedom through non-violence from the British, we need not fear anyone. We would be invincible. But we are weak and therefore in danger, though the future all unknown is in God's hands. The British are a brave people. They have often saved themselves from the jaws of death. Let us face danger even as they do.

" Among Jamnalalji's special activities is the Mahila Mandal. He was exceptionally keen on woman's uplift. The Mahila Ashram was his own conception, and he founded it in order to take charge of the daughters of those who had given themselves to the country's cause.

" Then Hindu-Muslim unity was a cause very dear to Jamnalalji. He had not the slightest trace of communal or class prejudice in him. Let each one of us do what we can in this direction.

" There is again the question of the national language. As you know he was interested in the Rashtra Bhasha prachar. He was principally concerned in drawing me to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. It was due to his sole effort that the great work of Hindi prachar in the South became possible. It was again due to his help that I was able to carry the resolution about giving an extended meaning to Hindi so as to include Urdu. I ask you all as a token of your regard for Jamnalalji, if you will, to try to learn the Urdu character today. You will find it quite easy to learn the primary letters."

#### Second Day

On the second day he said : " One thing we may well learn from Jamnalalji's life is to be ever active. We must be more alert, more ready to renounce and submit to discipline. I sometimes feel that, if all of us had military discipline for a year, we would be different beings. Jamnalalji had gone through no military school, and yet he had imposed on himself the training of a soldier. May we learn to impose such training on ourselves. The urge instilled by ahimsa takes the place of an order. For 22 years I have been saying so from the rooftops. If the Congress has not succeeded in full measure, it is because Congressmen have not been true followers of ahimsa. We met yesterday under the call of an ideal. It was a great day. Swami Anand said Jamnalalji had hoped to enlist at least

1,000 members for the Goseva Sangh during the year. You can all help in this direction."

1. A committee of seven was formed under the chairmanship of Shri Rameshwardas Birla for the purpose of creating 1,000 first class bulls. The expenditure was reckoned at five lakhs, and the members gave five to eight years in which to work out the scheme including the raising of the necessary funds.

2. Rs. 50,000 was guaranteed by friends in Calcutta, and they undertook to collect Rs. 50,000 more. This one lakh was to be devoted to khadi work.

3. Shrimati Suvratadevi promised an adequate donation for khadi, village industry and educational work in Rajputana. She promised Rs. 25,000 for khadi work at the centre and to pay a quarterly visit to Wardha.

On the first day Gandhiji had said that he wanted Janakidevi to step into her husband's gadi, and he proposed her name for the presidency of the Goseva Sangh for the reasons already stated. She has submitted to the ordeal in the hope that God will give her the ability to bear the burden. "When I asked Janakidevi to take up this difficult task," said Gandhiji, "I thought that it was perhaps woman's work, and that where man had so far failed woman might succeed."

Janakidevi was unanimously elected President, Seth Ghanashyamdas Birla was elected Vice-President. Shri Vinoba will be there for guidance and advice on all fundamental questions. Seth Ghanashyamdas will guide the outward activity of the Sangh. Swami Anand has consented to act as Secretary, if he can be spared by Balasaheb Kher.

Sevagram, 27-2-42

A. K.

## FOUR YEARS' WORK

### II

#### Syllabus

In the matter of covering the prescribed syllabus of co-ordinated studies Kashmir reports success. In Bombay the progress of children under the new method does not compare unfavourably with those who read the departmental syllabus. In the C. P. progress in the mother-tongue is good, it is satisfactory in mathematics, very satisfactory in social studies. In general science children show an interest in outdoor work, but in agriculture as in science the necessary equipment for anything but elementary gardening and nature study is not yet available.

The U. P. is the only province where art has obtained due recognition in basic education both for teachers and pupils. Pioneering work in correlating art with craft and self-expression in art is being done in the U. P. and should constitute a valuable contribution to the scheme. Music and physical education have been given a definite place in all basic schools. The danger of the central fact of the scheme being buried in the passion for art must, however, be guarded against.

#### Difficulties

The syllabus drawn up by the Zakir Husain Committee was only tentative. Any syllabus which aims at far-reaching reconstruction of education requires an extensive background of education and an experimental attitude of mind on the part of teachers. How far the syllabus has been worked in the right spirit it is difficult to say. It has not been worked wholly everywhere. There are all the difficulties attaching to a pioneer experiment. The question of correlation of studies is not easy. Teachers have as yet, generally speaking, neither sufficient knowledge nor mastery over the basic craft, there is also lack of necessary literature and reading material to guide them. The Committee appointed by the Sangh to help training schools has revised and systematised the syllabi of basic crafts for teachers and pupils and is preparing the necessary technical literature in spinning for teachers. Lack of literature for teachers and pupils is one of the criticisms of the scheme, but, as the report says, this is not altogether an unmixed evil. "Teachers and children have so long been used to the dominance of the printed word that the absence of books will stimulate initiative in both. Besides the feeling that the children and teachers are co-operating in the creation of their literature will bring a new pride and interest to their study." Really speaking, given efficient teachers, the need for text-books for children, especially in the early stages, should not arise.

#### Effect on Teachers

While the beneficial effect of the new scheme on children is definitely encouraging and in marked contrast to the dullness and apathy existing in most village schools, the Talimi Sangh has rightly recognised the importance of the effect on any scheme of education on the teachers. Kashmir notes that it is "having a healthy reaction on their professional outlook. They are more active, thoughtful, social, and conscious of their responsibilities." The Vijay Vidya Mandir says, "They work with love all day long, their knowledge has improved, their insight in child psychology has developed, their outlook on life has changed, and they have understood the importance of manual labour." This is surely a tremendous asset in comparison with the mentality of the average village school teacher.

Then there is the influence which the schools have exercised on the village community. The report claims that where the schools have done good work, and this is especially the case in Bihar, the atmosphere of apathy, suspicion and even hostility in which the schools started has given place to one of sympathy and co-operation. In Brindaban, for example, where an exhibition of the handwork of the children was held, many villagers came walking from long distances. To a large extent this interest and co-operation are the result of the community service undertaken by the schools.

#### Economic Possibilities

The report gives a few facts regarding the economic possibilities of the scheme.

The U. P. rejected the idea of self-supporting schools but have stressed the importance of self-sufficiency, i. e. that the material required may be supplied by the school itself. They suggest that the articles made by the children should be given away to them. Children are taken away from school for purposes of field labour. If they brought back cloth, for example, to their homes, the farmers might be induced not to remove them from school.

According to the first syllabus of spinning prepared by the Zakir Husain Committee it was reckoned that in a year of 288 working days with 3 hours and 20 minutes devoted to craft work a child could produce Rs. 2-10-0 worth in grade I and Rs. 7 worth in grade II. The standard has been attained only in a few cases for the reason that efficient instruction, the proper amount of time, right equipment and raw material have not always been available.

Calculations of earnings in Bihar are interesting. 78% of the pupils in Grade II and 71% in Grade I earned above 50% of the required standard. The actual maximum individual earning for the year was Rs. 5-4-3 in Grade II and Rs. 1-14-0 in Grade I. Against these the minimum was Re. 0-4-4 in Grade II, Re. 0-1-3 in Grade I. As a result of the year's working a sum of Rs. 2,112-3-0 was placed in the treasury as being the price of the yarn spun by the children and the cloth woven out of it as also their garden produce. There was in hand also stock worth Rs. 268-3-8. After deducting the cost of raw material and production, Rs. 1,124-9-9 represents the actual value realised. Later the individual earning of a child touched Rs. 7-3-4. But irregular attendance, less time allotted to the craft, and the fact that good cotton was not available have definitely brought down the average earning per head.

#### Conclusion

The importance of free and compulsory primary education, that the medium of instruction throughout should be the mother-tongue, that the child's capabilities should be developed through some form of manual and productive work, have been recognised as sound principles by all educationists and Government authorities. The history of the first three years of basic education, as set forth in the report of the Talimi Sangh, gives ample cause for believing that the scheme is sound. Difficulties have not been minimised. The appeal of the Sangh for better public understanding and for more workers is one which should go home to all who realise the importance in our national life of the right education of our children. Is it too much to expect those Governments who have not yet adopted it to give the scheme a fair trial in howsoever small an area? Above all the Sangh itself has got to show results after 7 years in its own schools. It is their success in the end which must constitute a challenge to the Provincial and Central Governments and the general public and compel its universalisation.

Sevagram, 22-1-42

A. K.

#### KHADI FORGES AHEAD

##### I

The report of the All India Spinners' Association for the year 1940, which but for the temporary suspension of *Harijan* would have been reviewed here this in these columns, is a businesslike statement of facts and figures of the work done by the Association through its own branches as well as certified private agencies. As the report was written in June 1941, in some respects it covers the first half of that year also. 95,51,438 sq. yds. of khadi (cotton, wool and silk), weighing 30,82,693 lb. and worth Rs. 51,36,983, was produced during the year. Though there was a slight fall in the yardage in comparison to the previous year (from 111 lakhs to 95), the value rose from Rs. 50 lakhs to Rs. 51 lakhs, which suggests that more money was paid either to cotton producers for the cotton purchased, or to artisans in the form of increased wages, or to both. The artisans did actually get more money in 1940 than in 1939. (The spinners and weavers got in 1940 the aggregate amount of Rs. 29,81,798 as against Rs. 28,47,560 in 1939.) The sales rose from Rs. 65 lakhs to Rs. 77 lakhs (a rise of 19%), which was a welcome sign of the increasing support khadi received from the people. 74 per cent of the total quantity were sold in the provinces of production. This is a healthy development, the value of which will be realised more and more as difficulties of transport increase and export becomes difficult, if not impossible. It is indeed a cardinal principle in the economics of khadi and village industries that their products should find a market primarily in the areas where they are produced, thus eliminating to a large extent the wastage in the distribution of goods. C. P. and Maharashtra, Gujarat and Sind have made the greatest progress in this respect, their provincial sales exceeding 90 per cent. The number of sale depots under the A. I. S. A. was 284. So far as the total net sales were concerned, Gujarat, Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and U. P. showed an increase of over a lakh of rupees each over the sales of 1939, while Tamil Nad showed a fall (for which there must be some special reasons) of over Rs. one lakh. The National Week and the Gandhi Jayanti were utilised as usual for pushing the sales, and over Rs. 10 lakhs worth of khadi was sold during the two Weeks—the pride of place belonging to Gujarat which, in spite of its comparatively small size, effected total sales during these two Weeks amounting to over Rs. 233 thousand. Taking 1928-29 as the basic year (for, after about four years of existence, in that year the A. I. S. A. can reasonably be considered to have put its full resources to use), the comparative figures of production and sales are as follows, and indicate the progress achieved by khadi in a short span of years, mostly by popular support and encouragement, with little, if any, aid from the Government:

	1928-29	1940
	(lakhs)	
Production (Rs.)	31	51
Sales (Rs.)	39	77

In 1940 the investment of the Sangh amounted to Rs. 43 lakhs. With the steady expansion in production the working capital presented a constant problem and exercised the organisers of the Sangh considerably. For years the capital was supplemented by raising loans, which again presented several difficulties, and in 1940, after full consideration, the Sangh resolved to pay off the Bank loans, to stop the policy of taking any more loans, and to raise the capital by donations made by the wealthy for liquidating unemployment. A few lakhs have already been secured in this manner, and an appeal has been made for more. If we take into consideration the huge amounts that States in the West spend by way of bounties to the new industries which they wish to foster (of which the beetroot subsidy in England is a conspicuous example),\* or by way of artificially maintaining a high level of prices for their farmers' products (as in England and Hitlerite Germany), and in paying the latter in order to restrict or even destroy their products (as in U.S.A. and Brazil), the amount of 20 lakhs asked for by the A.I.S.A. looks insignificant, and it devolves on lovers of indigenous small scale industries to supply the necessary capital, especially because the State has been—unlike the States in the West, which give all possible aid to their handicrafts—wholly apathetic.

The following abstract of figures, culled from the tables given in the report, will speak for itself:

	1940
Yarn produced	Lb. 27,03,351
Workers in A. I. S. A. Branches	2,933
Salaries to workers	Rs. 6,12,380
Workers drawing over Rs. 50	83
No. of villages served	13,451
" " spinners	2,54,968
" " weavers	16,801
" " other artisans	4,377
Total no. of artisans employed	2,76,146
Production centres	608
Wages given to spinners	Rs. 19,00,344
" " weavers	Rs. 10,81,454
" " other artisans	Rs. 4,83,611
Total wages	Rs. 34,65,409
Khadi purchased by spinners	Rs. 3,47,436
Habitual khadi wearers among spinners	23.7 %
" " " " weavers	68.2 %
Khadi sold	Rs. 77,62,750
No. of sale depots	284
Silk — production	Rs. 4,57,514

\* Before the world depression began, the arable farmers (in England) had been aided by a subsidy on sugar-beet—a most expensive subsidy, which actually cost more than would have sufficed to buy the sugar abroad.... Moreover, the farmers were enabled to sell their wheat at a price much in excess of its market value, the amount of the subsidy being recovered from the public in the price of bread."—G. D. H. Cole: *Practical Economics*, p. 230.

Wool — production	Rs. 2,84,611
Cotton consumed	Lb. 26,56,770
Spinners trained in carding	71,657
Spinners trained in spinning	73,356
No. of A. I. S. A. members	3,558
Total wages distributed in 1924-1940	Rs. 3,59,73,443

The report also describes briefly each of the special features of its work. 'Self-sufficiency in cloth' has been an important item in the programme before the Sangh for the last several years. The phrase was recently defined by the A. I. S. A. Council to include "those who fully and habitually wear khadi and regularly spin per month at least 7½ hanks (one hank = 840 yds.) of yarn." The report mentions a good increase in spinning for this kind of self-sufficiency. Charkha clubs have been started in many places, and the Provincial Branches of the A. I. S. A. have facilitated the progress by arranging to get the spinners' yarn woven in the respective provinces.

Ahmedabad, 30-1-42

C. S.

#### Shankerlal Pattarai & Jamnalal Vidyalaya

Two important and appropriate memorials were opened by Rajaji at Tirupur on the 15th inst. One is a workshop (*Pattarai* is Tamil for workshop) for the manufacture of all tools and parts required for the khadi movement. This was most appropriately named after Shri Shankerlal Banker whose name is a household word in South India for his services in the cause of khaddar. Shri S. Ramanathan, the present A. I. S. A. Secretary for Tamil Nad, has spared no pains to make the Shankerlal Pattarai as efficient as possible. Shri V. I. Muniswami Pillai is now a whole-time worker in charge of the dye-works and the Shankerlal Workshop. Two Ex-Ministers of the Madras Government are thus absorbed in the khadi work in the South and continue to serve Rajaji in that way! The Harijan community may well be proud of their representative, Shri Muniswami Pillai, who has become charkha-mad.

Jamnalal Vidyalaya is the Khadi Training Institute attached to the Tamil Nad A. I. S. A. branch. Extensive grounds have been acquired for erecting the necessary buildings, and when completed it will be a fitting memorial for the memory of the great man who was President of the A. I. S. A. for so many years from its inception and whose passing away has left us all so disconsolate.

Sevagram, 4-3-42

M. D.

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